

Aug 9/10/71

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(for 9/13/71 meeting)

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

TALKING POINTS

DOS Review Completed.

Chinese Messages

[First, wait to hear out any messages from the Chinese,
including their reactions to:

-- Dates for Kissinger visit - we proposed 3/4 days during
week of October 18.

-- Dates for President's visit - we proposed up to 7 days
starting February 21 or March 16, 1972.

-- Date for announcement of two trips - we proposed September 20,
21 or 22, with preference for September 21.

-- Draft text of announcement which Walters handed over to
the Ambassador (text at Tab A).

-- Comments on HAK August 16 presentation, including India-
Pakistan and our relations with the Soviet Union.]

Preparing for Kissinger Visit

-- On August 16 your government's message asked for our views
concerning details on my trip to Peking.

-- I would plan to arrive in Shanghai in a Presidential plane via
Hawaii on [Monday, October 18]. How long will the Shanghai

refueling take? We would like to arrive in Peking in daylight. *Because
pilot will be Pres. pilot - we will be
wanting to familiarize himself.*

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2

If we arrived in Shanghai at 2:15 p.m., stayed for an hour and left at 3:15 p.m., we would get into Peking around 5:00 p.m.

Does this seem reasonable to the PRC? Does it assure a daylight arrival in Peking? In order to have three full working days, I could depart [Friday morning, October 22] for the U.S. via Alaska.

-- Now let me outline our ideas and some questions we think will need to be covered concerning technical arrangements, substantive issues, and procedures for conducting the meetings.

-- We believe that it would be useful for both sides to do advance thinking and exchange views on these matters in advance of my visit.

-- This should greatly facilitate our discussions next month and in turn pave the way for a successful Presidential visit, including some concrete results.

-- In addition to the aircraft crew (about 20), there will be approximately 10 personnel in my party. A party of this size is based on the assumption that it would be useful to bring certain functional specialists with me in order to facilitate preliminary planning for the administrative and technical modalities of the President's trip.

-- (At Tab B) I have prepared a list of the individuals concerned and the functional responsibilities of prime interest to them. If this

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3.

*I will want
our specialists
in our meetings*

approach is acceptable to your side, you might wish to designate appropriate counterparts to meet with them for the purpose of conducting preliminary discussions on the functional areas of their primary concern. (Hand over list at Tab B.)

-- In each case I have restricted these representatives to working level personnel so that I will be better able to control their activities in the People's Republic within the limits which your side considered to be appropriate and desirable.

-- If the inclusion of these technical and administrative personnel on my visit would pose difficulties for your side, we will be prepared to delay these preliminary discussions, but hopefully not later than November.

-- Assuming this limited party composition is acceptable to your side, there are certain questions associated with my visit in October and longer-range questions associated with the President's visit, the answers to which would be most helpful to us prior to my visit.

-- In view of the planning time remaining between now and October and the limited communications facilities available to both sides, I prepared a list of these questions which I propose to leave with you today with the view toward having as early a response as is convenient to your side (hand questions at Tab C).

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- 3a -

Press Coverage

-- With respect to the question of press coverage for the visit, this issue has become one of the greatest interest and complexity. For this reason the United States side would greatly appreciate your government's remaining flexible on this issue pending more detailed discussions during my October visit.

-- At this time the U. S. Government is inclined not to favor live television coverage but rather to rely on film coverage which would enable both sides to better control the coverage. Under such a concept the minimum number of U. S. press, photographers and technical personnel that would be needed in the Peoples Republic at the time of the visit would be approximately 150 personnel. With more elaborate coverage this figure could increase substantially.

-- We would be most grateful if your side were prepared to discuss at the time of my October visit the maximum and minimum numbers of personnel associated with press coverage which you consider acceptable.

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Schedule
underst of meeting
4
We will give after
issue

-- These questions are broad and conceptual in nature and

in some instances are based on assumptions with which

your government may not agree. We are, of course,

prepared to modify these assumptions in the spirit of

cooperation.

-- The fact that the U.S. Government has no embassy or

mission in the People's Republic will further complicate

the provision of support for the Presidential party and

unquestionably place additional burdens on your hospitality.

The President's Visit. Among the topics we will want to cover on my trip:

-- Length and itinerary. As discussed previously, we envisage a visit of up to seven days, at two ^M or perhaps three locations.

-- Composition of party. We foresee a small working party consisting of the President, Secretary Rogers, myself and a few aides.

-- Schedule. This will include the various types of meetings I will describe, social and ceremonial events, and sightseeing.

-- Agenda.

. The topics that the Prime Minister and I covered in July

would be logical items to discuss. These include: Taiwan;

Indochina; Major Power relations (Soviet Union and Japan);

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5

South Asia; Korea; arms control; and communications
between our countries.

- . In addition, we may wish to discuss more technical
matters such as trade, cultural exchanges, cooperation
in scientific and medical fields, etc.

-- Concrete Results. We believe it is important that some specific
agreements as well as understandings emerge from the President's
visit. I would hope to shape these with the Prime Minister during
my visit. Among the possible areas we are considering are the
following:

- . Establishment of on-going means of dialogue between our
two countries, e.g., periodic visits to Peking and Washington
to be prepared by your Foreign Minister
by special envoys of the two governments.
- . A general statement on the renunciation of force in the settlement
of disputes between our two countries.
- . Arms control negotiations or agreements. For example, we
would be willing to sign with the PRC an accidental war agreement
(provisions at Tab D) or any other agreement that we have made
with the USSR. *H-1*

Renunciation of Force.

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6

- The establishment of hot line emergency communications, such as we have with the Soviet Union.
- The expansion of trade between our two countries. This could include agreements to relax legal and other impediments to trade; the sending of trade missions between our two countries; the establishment of trade centers; and other measures designed to open up trade opportunities and facilitate greater commerce between us.
- The establishment of a cultural exchange program whereby artistic, athletic and other groups from our two countries could visit each other on a reciprocal basis.
- The establishment of an academic exchange program in which professors and students from each country would spend a year or more in the other country.
- Agreement on measures designed to ensure greater journalistic coverage of our two countries on a reciprocal basis. These could include mutual exchanges of journalists and the establishment of press centers or other facilities.
- The exchange of medical personnel and the sharing of medical techniques.
- The sharing of information on ecological and environmental problems.

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7

- The exchange of scientists from our national academies.
- The exchange of weather data and meteorological experts.
- A joint program in Satellite Earth resources surveys, wherein our two countries could work together on specific agricultural, oceanographic or land use problems.
- The establishment of civil air links between our two countries.
- Mutual presentation of views on the evolution of the Taiwan situation.

*Return visit
for Nixon - in -*

- Mutual presentation of views on relationships among the major powers.
- Mutual presentation of views on the future of Asia.
- Communiqué. The desirability and nature of a final communiqué, to include perhaps the concrete results, understandings, and on-going arrangements resulting from the visit.

Conduct of Meetings.

- In July I explained to the Prime Minister certain bureaucratic factors in our government.
- Some subjects which we will want to discuss in my October visit and the President's visit will require particularly frank and discreet handling. These include Taiwan, Indochina and Major Power relations.

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8

-- Thus it will be important for the Prime Minister and I to have some completely private sessions to treat these issues with the candor we used in July.

-- During such sessions the State Department representative and other members of my party could at the same time talk with appropriate PRC officials about more technical matters.

-- In the broader sessions involving the other members of my party, the Prime Minister and I could discuss in more standard ways some of the same issues covered in our private meetings.

-- We will need similar procedures during the President's visit.

initial meeting during
Thus the Prime Minister and I will want to discuss the topics and amount of time needed for various types of meetings during the President's visit. We would envisage the following types of sessions:

- . Private meetings between the President on the one hand and the Chairman or Prime Minister on the other, *perhaps with one aide on each side. (I would attend with him)*
- . Meetings (in parallel with private sessions) between Secretary Rogers and PRC Foreign Ministry officials.

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9

- Restricted business sessions with the President, Secretary Rogers and myself on our side and the appropriate counterparts of the PRC.
- Plenary business sessions involving the full delegations of both sides.
- Social events.

Chinese views

-- We would appreciate answers to the specific technical questions that I have handed you. You can pass these to General Walters for transmission to Washington.

-- In addition, we would welcome the views of the PRC on the substantive matters I have raised, in particular:

- The agenda for my visit and the President's.
- Procedures for conducting the various types of meetings to cover the agenda items.
- Concrete results to be achieved from the President's visit.

Taiwan

-- I want to reaffirm the views and understandings of the U.S. Government concerning Taiwan which I explained to the Prime Minister when I was in Peking.

-- I will be prepared to go into this issue in greater detail during my forthcoming visit.

Accidental War/Hot Line

-- As we foreshadowed, this agreement, which will be announced (Sept 16) shortly, will be signed on September 30. The provisions are those that I outlined to you on August 16 (Tab D).

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10

-- At the same time we will sign an agreement to upgrade the reliability of the "hot line", or emergency communications, between Washington and Moscow which was set up in 1963.

This will be done by making use of two communications satellites, one Russian and one American.

Incidents at Sea Talks

-- In April 1968, after a series of incidents in the Sea of Japan, We proposed holding bilateral talks with the Soviets on means of reducing the number of these incidents. The Soviets accepted our invitation in November 1970 and we expect discussions to begin in Moscow on October 12.

-- The U.S. delegation will be led by Under Secretary of the Navy John Warner. The talks will deal with operational conduct of naval ships and aircraft at sea where Soviet and US naval forces are in close proximity.

-- We hope that -- perhaps after additional rounds of talks -- understandings will be reached on certain specific operational questions and safety procedures which could lessen the chances of collisions or accidents. These might include:

- Imposing responsibilities on ~~our~~ surveillant vessels to steer well clear of carriers conducting air operations;

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11

ships conducting underwater operations; ships undergoing underway replenishment; and ships maneuvering in formation.

- Understandings to lessen provocative or harassing actions and to increase the proper use of international signals.
- The establishment of Navy-to-Navy arrangements for reporting and discussing incidents at sea.
- The talks are not expected to result in a treaty or formal agreement.

US Policy Toward Romania

-- I recently saw the Romanian Ambassador at his request and on behalf of the President outlined our basic policy toward his country which I requested he report to President Ceausescu. This should be of interest to the PRC:

- The United States has a major interest in the independence and autonomous policy of Romania.
- The United States will do nothing directly or indirectly that amounts to collusion that would enable a great power to abrogate ~~the autonomy policy~~ ^{other} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~any~~ ~~way~~ ~~unilateral~~ ~~pressures or military action~~ ^{are} not consistent with a relaxation of tensions ^{against} ~~Russia~~ ⁱⁿ ~~Russia~~.

*With what can
have credibility
to the
Pres. will see Romanian ambassador*

pressures or military action ^{are} not consistent with a relaxation of tensions ^{against} ~~Russia~~ ⁱⁿ ~~Russia~~

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12

HAK Trip to Japan. There has been press speculation that I will be visiting Japan this fall. This is wrong. I have no plans to go to Japan.

India-Pakistan. We have been pursuing our policy toward the subcontinent that I outlined to you last time. We are seeking new ways to assist Pakistan's economic needs and the refugees. These steps, which we are keeping very confidential for now, include the following:

- Arrange for ways to ease Pakistan's debt repayment problem when its present debt moratorium runs out in late October.
- We will try to get the international consortium to approve measures which should save Pakistan about \$75 million.
- Encourage a fully responsive international relief program for East Pakistan in FY 1972 of up to \$315 million, of which we *markedly* could contribute as much as \$235 million, *75% of total total*.
- Provide some \$320 million out of the estimated \$830 million needed for relief in FY 1972 for the Bengali refugees who have gone to India.
- Use for humanitarian relief purposes in Pakistan some of the \$75 million in earmarked developmental aid that we were unable to use for Pakistan in FY 1971.

Lend Lease. I have confirmed that military equipment is included in the \$48.4 billion figure for Lend Lease that I gave you. In fact the great bulk of the program was in equipment rather than cash.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

The Governments of the United States and the
People's Republic of China have agreed that President
Nixon's visit to China should take place beginning

. The Government of the People's Republic of China has also invited Dr. Kissinger to visit Peking prior to that time to discuss final arrangements with Prime Minister Chou En-lai. This visit will take place beginning .

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B

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Composition of Dr. Kissinger's Party

1. Dr. Kissinger, two staff aides, two secretaries

6. Middle-level State Department Official

7. Presidential Advance Man

Responsible for development of schedule for Presidential visit, advance arrangements for the visit, protocol and ceremonial aspects. Attached is a description of the advance man's responsibilities.

8. One Presidential Press Specialist

Responsible for press arrangements and news coverage associated with Presidential visit.

9. One White House Communications Agency Representative

Charged with establishing and maintaining Presidential communications.

10. One Representative of U. S. Secret Service

Charged with arrangements associated with personal security of the President and his party.

PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE MEN

DESCRIPTION:

The Presidential Advance Man is the primary person in charge of arrangements - non-substantive - for Presidential visits.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ADVANCE MAN

1. THE SCHEDULE

To develop for the President, the official party, and staff, schedules in minute detail.

EXAMPLE

- Arrival/departure times.
- Protocol arrangements.
- Details of ceremonial aspects.
- Meeting locations, times, participants.
- Background information.
- Motorcade arrangements - other transportation arrangements.
- Distances.
- Interpreter requirements.
- Gift exchanges.
- Storage facilities
- Baggage problems.
- Currency and customs arrangements.

- 2 -

- Suggestions and arrangements for informal visits to points of interest.
- Proposed social events.
- Housing accommodations and arrangements.

2. COORDINATOR:

Serves as leader and coordinator for the Advance Team.

- All logistics.
- Press facilities and accommodations.
- Communications.
- Transportation.
- Protocol and ceremonial arrangements.
- Security details.

*cut off as indicated
before being
handed over*

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C

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Not handled yet

GENERAL QUESTIONS

Advance Planning Trips

The U.S. assumes that in addition to Dr. Kissinger's October trip, at least one other advance trip must be undertaken sometime after the first of the year to make detailed arrangements of a non-substantive nature. In addition, depending on decisions made concerning television and press coverage, other preliminary visits by technical personnel may be necessary.

Number of Stops

The U.S. side assumes that the President's visit will be limited to two or three stops and will be most grateful for an early indication that this is agreeable to the People's Republic of China.

Transportation Requirements

Detailed questions attached at Enclosure 1.

Requirements Associated with
Dr. Kissinger's Aircraft

AIRCRAFT

The aircraft to be used will be VC137B, #86971 or 86972. (Exact aircraft to be determined at a later date.) This is a Boeing 707 Series 120B aircraft. The following assistance associated with servicing of the aircraft is requested:

-- Fuel servicing at Shanghai. JP-1 or JP-5 or any equivalent fuel is required. Ten-thousand gallons (10,000 gals or 38,000 liters) will be needed upon entry and twenty-thousand gallons (20,000 gals or 76,000 liters) will be needed upon departure from Shanghai to return to the United States.

What method of payment will be used for the fuel? Recommend arrangements be made with Air France or Pakistani Airlines for payment.

-- External power sources (115-200V, 3 phase, alternating current) at each stop. A spare unit at destination in the event of a failure (preferably 60 KVA) is also required.

-- Passenger boarding stairs at all stops for both the front and rear entrances. The top stair should be ten feet (3.3 meters) above ground level.

-- 707 type lavatory and toilet service at Shanghai for both directions.

AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL

The following information is requested:

-- What radio frequencies will be used for air traffic communications?

-- Where will the Air Traffic Control procedures of the PRC become effective?

-- What Traffic Control agencies are available?

- 2 -

- What are the frequencies and geographic coordinates of the navigational aids? (Essential input to the Inertial Navigation System.)
- What are the Chinese names and coordinates of the airports to be used, radio frequencies for weather reports for the airports, weather minima, and the lengths, directions, and weight bearing capability of all airport runways, taxiways, and ramps?
- Is the metric system used in weather reporting?
- What are the probable alternates to be used in the event Shanghai and/or Peking are below weather minimums?
- What are the entry directions to Shanghai and from Shanghai to Peking? Approach procedures currently being used by Air France and Pakistani Airlines if pertinent are requested.
- Is there any requirement that a Chinese aircraft act as an escort? (We strongly prefer for reasons of safety that there be none.)

COMMUNICATIONS

A communicator will be on duty in the aircraft twenty-four hours a day. Routine contact will be established with Washington every two hours on the even hour or as otherwise directed. It is requested that a vehicle be provided for the communicator/engineer on duty at the aircraft so a courier service can be established for incoming or outgoing communications.

SECURITY

U.S.

The aircraft must be under round the clock guard by/personnel, hopefully supplemented by security forces of the People's Republic of China. Normally, USAF guards are armed. However, if there is objection to this, other arrangements can be made.

FOOD

Food stores require 10 pounds of dry ice and 100 pounds of wet ice, per day, while on the ground and prior to departing destination.

FLIGHT PERSONNEL

The flight crew prefers to be billeted together and needs transportation so that they may respond to the needs of the mission. Answers to the following questions are requested:

- Should the crew wear civilian or military attire?
- What money exchange procedures should be followed? What type of currency should be used?
- What custom forms are required for entry to destination?

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D

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Accidental War (Main Provisions as
Outlined in August 16 Meeting)

-- The main provisions of the agreement which we are close to concluding with the Russians are as follows:

- Each side will improve its organizational and technical arrangements to guard against the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under its control.
- The parties will notify each other immediately in the event of an accidental or unauthorized incident involving possible detonation of a nuclear weapon which could risk the outbreak of nuclear war. [The party whose nuclear weapon is involved will seek to neutralize it without its causing damage.]
- The parties will notify each other immediately in the event of detecting unidentified objects [or interference with warning systems] if such occurrences could create the risk of nuclear war between the two countries; and ^Peach party will notify the other in advance of any missile launches which will extend beyond its national territory in the direction of the other party.
- Each party in other situations involving unexplained nuclear incidents will act so as to lessen the chance of misinterpretation by the other party.